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ABSTRACT

This is a subunit to one of four resource units for an eleventh grade course on area studies. This subunit is a teacher's supplement to the unit on the U.S.S.R. A pretest on the Soviet Union, supplementary readings on the Soviet economy, foreign policy, constitution, government, Soviet attitudes toward the United States, and comparative statistics for the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics comprise the subunit. The units on the USSR are SO 006 325, SO 006 326, SO 006 327, and SO 006 328. (KSM)

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Grade Eleven
Unit: The U.S.S.R.

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TEACHER'S SUPPLEMENT TO UNIT ON U.S.S.R.

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PRETEST ON THE SOVIET UNION

This is not an achievement test and will not be graded. Hopefully, it will give you a chance to find out some of the things that you know about the Soviet Union and some of the things that we as a class should study.

Directions: Place an "A" in front of each statement with which you agree and a "D" in front of each statement with which you disagree.

1. 90% of the U.S.S.R. is north of International Falls, Minnesota.
2. The physical geographic features of the U.S.S.R. determine how the Soviet people live.
3. The Soviet Union is larger than the United States.
4. The Soviet Union has more people than the U.S. does.
5. The United States invaded the U.S.S.R. soon after the communists took control of the government in the Soviet Union.
6. The standard of living in the Soviet Union is lower than it was in Russia before the communist revolution.
7. The Soviet annual rate of economic growth is greater (on the average) than that of the U.S.
8. Russian workers earn about the same salary.
9. The average Russian has little leisure time.
10. The Soviets spend proportionately twice as much of their national income on education as is spent in the U.S.
11. Most Russians are unhappy with the results of the communist government.
12. Conventional religion has been extinguished in the U.S.S.R.
13. The communists led the revolt against the old government which had existed in Russia during the 19th and early 20th centuries.
14. The government in Russia during the 19th century was a democratic government like that in Britain at the time.

- ___15. Free enterprise has been removed completely in the Soviet Union.
- ___16. Soviet people cannot own any property.
- ___17. The ordinary Soviet citizen is illiterate.
- ___18. The Communist Government of the U.S.S.R. has always opposed U.S. foreign policy.
- ___19. The communists eradicated the old individualistic attitudes of the Russian people and substituted collectivistic attitudes.
- ___20. All adults in the Soviet Union are members of the Communist Party.
- ___21. Only one candidate is permitted to run in any Soviet election.
- ___22. The Soviet Union has fewer natural resources needed for industry than does the U.S.
- ___23. The U.S.S.R. has about twice as much agricultural land in production as does the U.S.

SOVIET IDEAS ABOUT THE U.S. and
AMERICAN IDEAS ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.

AN INTERVIEW WITH A SOVIET CITIZEN

"Q.--What comes to your mind when you hear the word America?

A.--Cars, of course, and roads to drive them on.

Skyscrapers. I cannot understand how people enjoy living on the hundredth floor.

Jazz. Yes, we wish we could hear more of your jazz.

Q.--What is it you feel that you don't understand about America?

A.--I can't understand why you tolerate discrimination against Negroes, against women. Why must such a rich country have unemployment?"

Max Frankel. "Typical Russian Expounds on U.S." The New York Times, Sept. 14, 1959, p. 12.

"A few weeks ago I was showing some photographs I had taken in Russia to a class of fifth and sixth graders in an American school. Among my pictures were a number of shots of roads lined with young trees.

A child's hand went up: 'Why do they have trees along the road?'

A bit puzzled, I turned the question back to the class: 'Why do you suppose they have trees?' Another child's hand rose for eager answer: 'So that people won't be able to see what's going on beyond the road.' A girl had a different idea: 'It's to make work for the prisoners.' I asked why some of our roads have trees planted along the side. 'For shade,' the children said. 'To keep the dust down.'

Where did children get the idea that the Russians have different reasons that we have for planting trees?"

Urie Bronfenbrenner,

Saturday Review, Jan. 5, 1963.

QUOTATIONS FROM AMERICANS AND FROM SOVIET LEADERS ON
POSSIBLE CLASH BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R.

The United States can wipe out from 50 to 100 million of its adversaries, or they /the U.S.S.R./ in the same amount of time, wipe out 50 to 100 million of our people, taking half of our land, half of our population in a matter of an hour.

President Johnson

". . . To those nations that would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We do not dare tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from their present course--both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war."

John F. Kennedy, Inaugural
Address, Jan. 20, 1961

"On several occasions, notably during the Cuban missile crisis and the repeated Berlin alarms, the U.S. and the Soviet Union appeared to be heading for a hot war. But each time they pulled back. While admitting the 'unthinkability' of a nuclear war, the superpowers are virtually able to annihilate each other. While admitting the necessity for coexistence, they spend billions of dollars annually on new and improved systems of destruction."

"The U.S. and the U.S.S.R.,"
Intercom, Vol. 7, Number 6,
Nov.-Dec., 1965.

Soviet military doctrine has now come to regard strategic nuclear missile strikes in the initial period as decisive in a future general war. It would still be necessary, however, to have large ground forces to seize and occupy territory in order to win the final

victory. The war might be short, but it could also be long.

Garthoff, R.L., Military Strategy: Soviet Doctrine and Concepts.

"...First: Examine our attitude towards peace itself. Too many of us think of it as impossible. Too many think it is unreal. But that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable--that mankind is doomed--that we are gripped by forces we cannot control.

We need not accept that view. Our problems are man-made. Therefore, they can be solved by man. And man can be as big as he wants. No problem of human destiny is beyond human beings. Man's reason and spirit have often solved the seemingly unsolvable--and we believe that they can do it again. . . .

And second: Let us re-examine our attitude towards the Soviet Union. . . . No government or social system is so evil that its people must be considered lacking in virtue. As Americans, we find Communism profoundly repugnant as a negation of personal freedom and dignity. But we can still hail the Russian people for their many achievements--in science and space, in economic and industrial growth, in culture and in acts of courage. . . .

Today, should war break out again--no matter how--our two countries will be the primary targets. It is ironic but accurate that the two strongest powers are the two most in danger of devastation. All we have built, all we have worked for would be destroyed in the first 24 hours. . . .

We are both caught up in a vicious and dangerous cycle with suspicion on one side breeding suspicion on the other, and new weapons begetting counterweapons. . . ."

John F. Kennedy, Commencement
Address at American University
June 10, 1963

"We must realize that we /The communist world and the west/ cannot coexist eternally, for a long time. One of us must go to the grave. They do not want to go to their grave. We don't want to go to the grave, either.

What must be done? We must push them to their grave."

Nikita S. Khrushchev, at a
Polish Communist Party meeting
in Warsaw, April, 1955.

"You cannot, after all, persuade a tiger to start eating grass; it cannot do this, since it is carnivorous. You cannot persuade a monopolist, a capitalist, cannot demonstrate to him that communism is better than capitalism. What do we mean by 'persuade' him? We mean persuade him to give up his capital, to turn over the enterprises that he calls 'mine' into the possession of the people, so that the working people will start calling them 'ours.'

Where will you find a capitalist who will voluntarily give up his riches? Such a transfer of wealth into the hands of the people can only be brought about by a working class that, organized into a close family, takes power into its hands. This party, as the experience of history shows, can only be the Communist Party. The working class needs a party that can organize it and lead it along the right path. Only then is the victory of the working class possible, and this victory will come, it will come, it will come."

No prayers, no handouts will enable the capitalists to buy off the victory of communism. It is only a matter of time. . . ."

Nikita S. Khrushchev, from
Pravda, March 17, 1962.

"Imperialism is the only source of the war danger. The imperialist camp is making preparations for the most terrible crime against mankind--a world thermonuclear war that can bring unprecedented destruction to entire countries and wipe out entire nations. The problem of war and peace has become a life and death problem for hundreds of millions of people.

The peoples must concentrate their efforts on curbing the imperialists in good time and preventing them from making use of lethal weapons. The main thing is to ward off a thermonuclear war, to prevent it from breaking out. . . ."

Programme of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union Adopted by
the 22nd Congress of the CPSU,
October 31, 1961.

COMPARATIVE DOLLAR VALUES OF GROSS
NATIONAL PRODUCT IN 1964*

Market Prices

Country	Ranked by GNP (In billions)
United States	629
U.S.S.R.	293
West Germany	126
United Kingdom	104
Japan	101
France	96
Italy	61

COMPARATIVE GROWTH RATES OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT**

Country	Aggregate		Yearly						
	1950-58	58-64	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
United States	2.9	4.4	-1.2	6.7	2.5	1.9	6.1	3.4	4.8
U.S.S.R.	7.1	5.3	9.4	4.9	5.2	6.2	5.1	2.6	7.9
France	4.4	5.4	2.5	2.8	7.3	4.3	6.3	4.3	5.3
West Germany	7.6	5.8	3.5	7.1	8.9	5.8	4.1	3.2	6.6
Italy	5.6	6.1	4.4	7.3	6.8	8.3	6.0	4.8	2.9
United Kingdom	2.4	3.9	1.0	3.6	4.5	3.3	.2	3.5	5.4
Japan	6.1	12.0	-0.1	18.3	13.0	15.9	6.9	8.3	13.9

*Part of a table presented in New Directions in the Soviet Economy, Studies Prepared for the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States. Part II-A Economic Performance, Section I: Aggregate National Product. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966, p. 108.

**ibid., p. 104.

THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC CHALLENGE

"It is the difference in the rate of growth that the Soviet leaders have in mind when they say they will inevitably overtake us in terms of economic power. And it is also this comparison that Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, refers to when he tells Congress that the Soviet Union is catching up with us."

Robert W. Campbell, Prof. of Economics, Indiana University, Soviet Economic Power, Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1960.

"The nature of the Soviet challenge is essentially economic. . . . High rates of growth. . . are extremely tempting to countries in which economic development has been very slow or negligible. These countries comprise today more than two-thirds of the world's population. The Soviet challenge is an invitation for the undeveloped countries to follow the Soviet example."

Jan S. Prybyla, Prof. of Economics at Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania Business Survey, July, 1962, pp. 4-7.

"When I really feel gloomy I think that five years from now they will be obviously superior to us in every area. But when I am optimistic I feel it will take ten years for them to achieve this position."

J.B. Wiesner, Prof. at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"Continuation of their rapid industrial growth makes increasingly credible the Soviet claim for overtaking the U.S. levels of industrial production at some future date."

John Hardt, from a report to the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress

". . . .The Kremlin leadership for several years has been trying to do too much with too few resources. This living on borrowed capital, improvising cheap but temporary solutions to basic problems such as agriculture, and chronically neglecting balanced development to push ahead spectacularly on a narrow range of goals has finally caught up with the Soviet Union. . . .

Economic growth has begun to slow appreciably. The rate of expansion of fixed investments, upon which growth depends, has not been maintained. With annual increases in investment cut in half, a sharp curtailment in economic growth is inevitable."

C.I.A. Report, Jan. 9, 1964

Although recognizing the slowed rate of economic growth in the U.S.S.R. during the early 1960's the following author concluded in an article in 1964:

"On the other hand, future years are likely to be considerably better for the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union's overall growth rate will probably be well over six percent. . . .By this means, the Soviet Union will eventually 'catch up' with the United States, unless United States growth rates rise above their present level."

Harry G. Shaffer, The University of Kansas, Kansas Business Review, August, 1964.

The following data is taken from the article, "Peaceful Competition: U.S.S.R.-U.S.A.," written by Y. Pokatayev and Y. Joffe. It was published by Soviet Booklets, London, January, 1963. They illustrate the Soviet view of their economic position.

PER CAPITA PRODUCTION IN 1913

		Russia	U.S.A.
Electric power	k.w.h.	14	260
Coal	lb.	451	11,693
Steel	"	66	719
Cement	"	24	358
Paper	"	3.1	75.2
Cotton fabrics	yards	14.1	63.25

AVERAGE ANNUAL RATES OF GROWTH IN THE OUTPUT OF MAJOR INDUSTRIAL ITEMS IN 1954-61 (percent)

	Soviet Union	United States
Steel	8.0	-1.4
Oil	15.4	1.4
Electrical power	11.7	6.8
Cement	15.6	2.3
Woollen fabrics	6.9	-1.8
Leather footwear	8.1	1.7
Sugar	7.4	2.6

In 1954-61 the absolute average annual increase in the output of major industrial goods in the U.S.S.R. and the United States was as follows:

Pig Iron	Million tons	2.9	-1.1
Steel	" "	4.1	-1.3
Coals	" "	21.2	-8.4
Oil	" "	14.2	-4.8
Electric power	Million k.w.h.	22,400.0	44,700.0
Cement	Million tons	4.4	1.1
Cotton fabrics	Million sq. ft.	159.7	648.4
Woollen fabrics	" linear ft.	60.4	-16.8
Leather footwear	Million pairs	25.5	9.8
Sugar	Thousand tons	331	87

YEARS NEEDED TO RAISE THE OUTPUT OF VARIOUS GOODS

		U.S.S.R.
Steel, from 27 to 65 million tons	30 years (1912-41)	10 years (1951-60)
Pig Iron, from 10 to 47 million tons	38 years (1904-41)	10 years
Oil, from 30 to 148 million tons	22 years (1915-36)	" "
Electric power, from 91,000 million to 220,000 million k.w.h.	21 years (1927-47)	" "
Cement, from ten to 45 million tons	42 years (1912-53)	" "

LENIN'S COMMENTS ON INDIRECT TAXES

/This statement was made in 1904 in a statement "To the Rural Poor." It may be found in volume 11, p. 283 of his Selected Works, published in Moscow in 1934.7

"The richer the man the smaller the share of his income does he pay in indirect taxes. This makes indirect taxation the most poor form of taxation. Indirect taxes are taxes on the poor. The peasants and workers together form nine-tenths of the population and pay eight or nine-tenths of the indirect taxes.... So the Social-Democrats /Lenin's Bolsheviks/ demand the abolition of indirect taxation and the introduction of a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances. 'Graduated' means that the higher the income, the higher the tax."

SELECTED QUOTATIONS ON CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES

/The first quotation is from Adam B. Ulam in Beer and Ulam, editors, Patterns of Government (New York: Random House, 1962 ed.), p. 655./

"... the Stalin Constitution came into effect during the most intense period of terror in the history of the U.S.S.R., when the holocaust ... made a mockery of the civil rights and liberties so emphatically guaranteed in the Constitution."

/The second quotation is from Frederick L. Schuman Russia Since 1917 (New York: Knopf, 1957)./

"Many other rights solemnly guaranteed by the Supreme Law of Soviet land remained 'dead letters' during most of the two decades after 1936. Freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association ... and inviolability of persons, homes, and correspondence ... were often honored more in the breach than in the observance...."

SELECTED QUOTATIONS ON STRUCTURE OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT

/The first quotation is from Kenneth R. Whiting, The Soviet Union Today (New York: Praeger, 1966 ed.), p. 137./

"Article 30 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states that the Supreme Soviet is the 'highest organ of state power in the U.S.S.R.' This is pure fiction, of course.... The Supreme Soviet is merely window dressing behind which the Party operates."

/The second quotation is from Herbert McClosky and John E. Turner, The Soviet Dictatorship (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), p. 320./

"The soviets are ... no longer subject to significant influence by the people themselves. Since elections are not free, there is no electoral 'will' to be represented in the soviets. ... In addition, the lower soviets are completely subordinate to the power of higher governing organs, and this power is widely and continually used."

**EXERCISE ON EVALUATING SOURCES OF INFORMATION
ABOUT SOVIET UNION**

Place a cross (X) before the two sources which you would rate the best as sources of information about civil liberties in the Soviet Union. Then explain why you have chosen these two and not the others.

1. A book by a U.S. Senator who visited the Soviet Union for several weeks.
2. A speech by the Soviet foreign minister at a U.N. meeting in reply to charges made by other nations about the lack of civil liberties in the U.S.S.R.
3. A book by a refugee, formerly of high Nazi rank, who was sent to a labor camp in the U.S.S.R. after being captured during World War II.
4. A book by a refugee, formerly a member of the Communist Party of Austria, who went to the U.S.S.R. to live and was imprisoned after two years.
5. A book by a professor of Political Science at Harvard who has studied Soviet documents and writings and the testimony of refugees.

KHRUSHCHEV ON ECONOMIC RACE WITH U. S.

[This statement was made in a speech on television during his visit to the United States in September of 1959.]

The United States is at present the richest and economically the most highly developed power. The figures for your country represent the highest ceiling in the capitalist world. You must bear in mind, however, that the average annual rate of industrial expansion in the Soviet Union is about three to five times higher than in your country, and for this reason within the next ten to twelve years we shall surpass the United States both in physical production and in production per capita of the population, while in agriculture this will be accomplished much earlier.

LENIN'S COMMENTS ON INDIRECT TAXES

This statement was made in 1904 in a statement "To the Rural Poor." It may be found in volume II, p. 283 of his Selected Works, published in Moscow in 1934.⁷

"The richer the man the smaller the share of his income does he pay in indirect taxes. This makes indirect taxation the most unfair form of taxation. Indirect taxes are taxes on the poor. The peasants and workers together form nine-tenths of the population and pay eight or nine-tenths of the indirect taxes.... So the Social-Democrats Lenin's Bolsheviks demand the abolition of indirect taxation and the introduction of a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances. 'Graduated' means that the higher the income, the higher the tax."

KHRUSHCHEV'S PROMISES ABOUT REAL WAGES
AND CONSUMER GOODS

[Khrushchev made the following statement in May, 1957.]

. . . . It will be interesting now to see what the American imperialists have to say when they read that the U. S. S. R. is planning to exceed them soon in per capita output of meat, milk, and butter.

[Khrushchev made the following promise in January, 1959.]

As a result of higher money wages, pensions and grants, and a reduction in restaurant prices, the real income per worker and employee will increase 40 per cent by the end of the seven year period. . . . Real earnings of collective farmers will similarly rise at least 40 per cent. . . .

[Khrushchev made the following statement in January, 1961.]

Obviously, however, we shall not follow a policy of developing ferrous metallurgy as much as possible. Obviously we shall shift part of the capital investments to agriculture and light industry. It is impossible to build communism by offering only machines and ferrous and non-ferrous metals. People must be able to eat and clothe themselves well, to have housing and other material and cultural conditions.

This is not a revision of our general line, but a reasonable employment of our possibilities. When we were encircled by enemies and our industry was weaker than that of the capitalist nations, we economized on everything, even as Lenin said, on schools. We are in a different situation now. We have a powerful industry and our armed forces have the most modern weapons. Why should we deny people what they can receive without harm to the further development of our socialist society?

STALIN'S STATEMENT ON WAGES, 1931

We must draw up wage scales that will take into account the difference between skilled labor and unskilled labor, between heavy work and light work. We cannot tolerate a situation where a rolling mill hand in a steel mill earns no more than a sweeper.

**PROBLEMS ARISING FROM UNEVEN FULFILLMENT OF
PLANS DURING THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN**

Quotations from Soviet Industria, an organ for Soviet Industry:

"Machinery worth tens of millions of roubles remains unfinished because a small piece of equipment has not been delivered from another factory which specializes in its production."

"The most advanced iron and steel 'combinat' of Kuznetz had produced in nine months 50,000 tons of metal which did not comply with the requirements of the users."

"At first our blast furnaces had frequent stoppages because the iron ore was lacking. . . . But now. . . . many furnaces have been reduced to stop working because there is no lime. . . . In the last few days alarming messages have reached the 'Centre' stating that the Martin furnaces went out of work because there were no acids and especially no ferro-manganese. . . . While so many of our furnaces have difficulties with auxiliary materials, tens of thousands of tons of manganese ore are lying untouched at Poti. . . ."

KHRUSHCHEV'S STATEMENTS ON SOCIALISM AND
COMMUNISM IN THE U. S. S. R.

This statement was made in a speech to the Twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in January of 1959.

Comrades! Now that our country has entered a new historical period of its development, special importance attaches to problems of Marxist-Leninist theory connected with the transition from socialism to communism.

.
The development of Soviet society has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist prediction of two phases of communism. Having built a socialist society, the Soviet people have entered a new period of development in which socialism grows into communism.

.
It must be born in mind that with the present level of production there is still not enough to satisfy fully the requirements of all the people. Such "equalitarian communism" would only eat up accumulated funds and make impossible the further successful development of the economy and expanded production.

.
. . . notwithstanding all the differences between communism and the socialist stage, there is no wall separating these two stages of social development. Communism grows out of socialism and is its direct continuation. It would be wrong. . . to assume that communism will somehow appear suddenly. Communist forms of labor and industrial organization as well as such forms of satisfying the requirements of our people as public catering, boarding schools, kindergartens, and day nurseries are already developing more and more widely. Our society has many tangible and visible communist features which will be developing and improving.

There is no calendar date marking the entry into communism. There will be no given moment at which we will shut one door and announce: "The building of socialism is completed," and then open another door and say: "We have now reached communism." The transition from socialism to communism is a continuous process. We are already opening the door to communist society, we are now engaged in building communism. . . . Communist construction will be completed when we shall have provided a complete abundance of everything needed to satisfy the requirements of all the people, when all the people learn to work according to their ability, so as to multiply and accumulate communal wealth.

Is the time far off when it will be possible fully to satisfy the essential requirements of all Soviet persons? Evidently not so far off. . . .

. . . .
Full satisfaction, within necessary and reasonable limits, of all the Soviet people's requirements of food, housing, and clothing can probably be attained in the near future. . . . Of course, when we speak of satisfying people's requirements, we have in mind not whims of claims to luxuries, but the wholesome consumption of a cultured person.

It will take a longer time for people to acquire the inner need to work in accordance with their abilities. As long as this is lacking, society cannot dispense with definite regulation of working time in order that every able-bodied person contribute a definite amount of labor to the production of the goods and services that the community needs.

. . . .
The question of the withering away of the state is a question of evolution of the socialist state toward communist public self-government. Under communism, too, there will remain certain public functions similar to those now performed by the state, but their nature and the methods by which they will be accomplished will differ from those obtained in the present stage.

. . . .
It is already clear that many functions performed by government agencies will gradually pass to public organizations. Take, for instance, certain aspects of cultural services. It is not at all essential that they remain in the hands of government organizations. Public organizations can deal with them successfully.

. . . .
Evidently the conditions are ready for turning over more and more public health matters in the cities to the trade unions. . . .

. . . .
Problems of enforcing public order and the rules of the socialist community should likewise come increasingly under the jurisdiction of public organizations.

. . . .
Socialist society forms such voluntary organizations for safeguarding public order as the people's militia, comrades' courts, and the like. . . . The voluntary detachments of people's militia should undertake to keep public order in their respective communities. . . .

. . . .

Of course, definite functions will remain with the courts, the militia and the Prosecutor's Office. These agencies will continue to function in order to exert influence on persons who maliciously refuse to submit to socialist society's standards of behavior and are not amenable to persuasion.

✓ Prior to the party congress at which Khrushchev delivered this speech, he issued a statement that the Soviet Union would surpass the United States in per capita production by 1970. He declared also that the U. S. S. R. would have developed the "material and technological base of communism" by 1980. ✓

KHRUSHCHEV'S COMMENTS ON IMPOSSIBILITY OF A RIFT WITH CHINA

[The following statement was made in a speech to the Twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in January of 1959.]

The Communist Party of China is employing many original forms of socialist construction. But we have no disagreements with this party, nor can there be any disagreements.

The Yugoslav revisionists are now concentrating their fire on the Chinese People's Republic, disseminating all sorts of inventions about alleged differences between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China. . . . The revisionists are searching for discord among our Communist Parties, but their illusory hopes are doomed to failure. We are in full and complete agreement with the fraternal Communist Party of China, although in many respects its methods of building socialism do not resemble our own. We know that China has its specific features of historical development, size of population, level of production and national culture. Therefore it would be a mistake to ignore these specific features and to copy what is good for one country but unsuitable for another.

Why have we no differences with the Communist Party of China? Because we share the same class approach and class conception. The Chinese Communist Party stands firmly on Marxist-Leninist class position. It is waging a struggle against the imperialists and exploiters, a struggle to refashion life along socialist lines; it abides by the principle of international proletarian solidarity and is guided by Marxist-Leninist theory.

The chief thing is to maintain and strengthen class solidarity in the struggle against capitalism, for the liberation of the working class, for the building of socialism.

EXCERPTS FROM KHRUSHCHEV'S STATEMENT ON WAR

The first selection is from Khrushchev's Speech to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was made in 1956.

The possibility of preventing war in the present era:

Millions of people all over the world are asking whether another war is really inevitable, whether mankind, which has already experienced two devastating world wars, must still go through a third one. Marxists must answer this question, taking into consideration the epoch-making changes of the last decades.

There is, of course, a Marxist-Leninist precept that wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists. This precept was evolved at a time when, first, imperialism was an all-embracing world system and, second, the social and political forces which did not want war were weak, poorly organized, and hence unable to compel the imperialists to renounce war.

People usually take only one aspect of the question and examine only the economic basis of wars under imperialism. This is not enough. War is not only an economic phenomenon. Whether there is to be a war or not depends in large measure on the correlation of class, political forces, the degree of organization, and the awareness and resolve of the people.

Moreover, in certain conditions, the struggle waged by progressive social and political forces may play a decisive role. Hitherto the state of affairs was such that the forces that did not want war and opposed it were poorly organized and lacked the means to check the schemes of the war-makers.

Thus it was before World War I, when the main force opposed to the threat of war--the world proletariat--was disorganized by the treachery of the leaders of the Second International. Thus it was on the eve of World War II when the other Great Powers, to all intents and purposes, encouraged the aggressors, and the right wing social democratic leaders had split the labor movement in the capitalist countries.

In that period, this precept was absolutely correct. At the present time, however, the situation has changed radically. Now there is a world camp of socialism which has become a mighty force. In this camp, the peace forces find not only the moral but also the material means to prevent aggression.

Moreover, there is a large group of other countries, with a population running into many hundreds of millions, which are actively working to avert war. The labor movement in the capitalist countries has today become a tremendous force. The movement of peace supporters has sprung up and developed into a powerful factor.

In these circumstances, certainly the Leninist precept that so long as imperialism exists the economic basis giving rise to wars will also be preserved, remains in force. That is why we must display the greatest vigilance. As long as capitalism survives in the world, the reactionary forces representing the interests of the capitalist monopolies will continue their drive toward military gambles and aggression and may try to unleash war.

But war is not fatalistically inevitable. Today there are mighty social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war, and, if they actually try to start it, to give a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and frustrate their adventuristic plans.

To be able to do this, all anti-war forces must be vigilant and prepared; they must act as a united front and never relax their efforts in the battle for peace. The more actively the peoples defend peace, the greater the guarantees that there will be no new war.